## Population of the Whitewater Valley, 1850-1860

Chelsea L. Lawlis\*

Sectional migration to the Whitewater Valley had decreased by 1850. It was no longer as important as it had been the first part of the nineteenth century. Immigration from the Southern states and from the Middle Atlantic states did not maintain its earlier rate and a slight increase in the number of New Englanders was not large enough to affect the general situation.

The first settlers of this region were from the Southern states, and the Southerners remained an important group in the population in 1850. The original census returns for that year reveal that there were 9,720 persons, or 16.1 per cent of the total population, living in the valley who had been born in the Southern states. When one considers that many of the original Southern settlers had died by this time and that many Hoosier children had been born to parents of Southern birth, it is possible to obtain some idea of the importance of this element. With the exception of the North Central states, this section contributed the largest number to the population of the valley in 1850. Since there was a large percentage of Quakers who migrated from North Carolina to the valley, one might conclude that the largest body of Southerners came from that state. Only Wayne County, however, was characterized by a high percentage of North Carolinians. Considering the valley as a whole, it contained 2,696 persons who were born in North Carolina, and Virginia with 2,666 ranked second. Virginians were scattered through all four counties, but the largest number resided in Wayne County. Other Southern states which contributed in strength were Kentucky with 1,588, Maryland with 1,220, Tennessee with 553, South Carolina with 451, and Delaware with 436. The larger number of Kentuckians found their way to Favette County, while many from Maryland, Tennessee, and Delaware settled in Wayne County, and the larger number of South Carolinians migrated to Franklin County.

<sup>\*</sup> Chelsea L. Lawlis is a member of the Carlisle High School Faculty, Carlisle, Indiana. This is the concluding article of a series of six published continuously since March, 1947. It is the revision of a master's thesis in the department of history at Indiana University, 1946, under the direction of John D. Barnhart.

NATIVITY OF POPULATION OF WHITEWATER VALLEY BY COUNTIES, 1850:

By number and percentage of total population

	Fayette		Franklin		Union		Wayne		Total	
States	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Atlantic	959	9.4	1644	9.2	642	9.2	2935	11.6	6180	10.2
N.J	130	İ	434	i	191		430	İ	1185	<del> </del>
N.Y	272	İ	317		33		268		890	i
Penn	557	1	893		418		2237		4105	1
New England	89	.9	169	.9	73	1.1	143	.5	474	.8
Conn	15	i	60	i — —	2		20	İ	97	į – –
Maine	12	1	19		5	Ì	13	ì	49	ĺ
Mass	29	ĺ	58	1	53		52		192	1
N.H	5	[	7		2	Ì	19		33	l
R.I	3	ł	1		1		9	ĺ	14	<b>!</b>
Vt	25		24	İ	10		30	•	89	1
North Central	7100	69.6	11676	65.	5081	72.9	16123	63.7	39980	66.1
III	10	Ì	22	Ì	17	<u> </u>	23	<u> </u>	72	<u> </u>
Ind	6109		9569		4103		13449	i	33230	İ
Iowa	10	1	19		7		16	l	52	ł
Mich	3		6		1	Í	17	•	27	
Mo	3	1	20		0		13	İ	36	•
Ohio	964		2040		953		2605		6562	:
Wis	1	İ	0		0		0	1	1	ŀ
Southern	1680	16.5	2112	11.8	982	14.1	4946	19.6	9720	16.1
Ala	4		0		4	İ	12	i	20	<u> </u>
Ark	0	İ	2		0		2		4	
Carolina	0	ł	17		0	ļ	1		18	ĺ
Del	94	ŀ	148		14		180	1	436	1
D.C	0		0	1	0	ĺ	11		11	1
Ga	9		6		2		20		37	
Ку	516		460	·	140		472		1588	
La	4		5		1		1		11	ĺ
Md	247		406		84		483	Ì	1220	
Miss	0		5		0		2		7	İ
N.C	206	1	188		1.74	}	2128	1	2696	l
8.C	118	1	136		82	1	115		451	1
Tenn	70	j	110		86		287		553	
Texas	0	l	0		2		0	[	2	[
Va	412	l	629	l	393		1232		2666	l
Unknown	74	.7	109	.6	15	.2	151	.6	349	.6
Foreign	299	2.9	2237	12.5	171	2.5	1022	4.0	3729	6.2
Africa	0	1	1		0		0		1	
Brit. W. Indies	0	ĺ	1	Ī	0	[	1		2	
Canada	6		17		3		14		40	1
England			189		25		100		336	[
Europe	2	1	0		0		0		2	
France	5	1	48		0	l	8	1	61	
Germany	122		1672		27		653		2474	
Holland	1 190	1	6	· '	0	l	0	]	7	
Ireland	129	1	263		95		217	1	704	)
Italy	0 12		1	ļ ·	1	ļ	3	ļ	5	1
Scotland	12	1	30	1	17	ļ	21	1	80	J
Switzerland	0		4		3	l	3	[	10	1
Wales		<u> </u>	5	<u> </u>	0	<u> </u>	2	<u> </u>	7	
Total	10201		17947		6964	ļ	25320		60432	I

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Original Returns of Seventh Census, 1850, Fayette, Franklin, Union, and Wayne Counties, Indiana (microfilm in Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Indiana).

NATIVITY OF POPULATION OF WHITEWATER VALLEY BY COUNTIES, 1860<sup>2</sup>

By number and percentage of total population

	Fay	ette	Franklin		Union		Wayne		Total	
States	No.	%	No.	1 %	No.	%	No.	%	No.	1 %
Middle Atlantic	795	7.8	1133	5.8	510	7.2	2998	10.1	5436	8.2
N.J	86	<del>i</del>	292	<u> </u>	144	i	445		967	<u> </u>
N.Y	212		215		37		358		822	
Penn	497		626	ĺ	329	ĺ	2195	ĺ	3647	ĺ
New England	60	.6	84	.4	64	.9	321	1.1	529	.8
Conn	21	<u> </u>	36	<u> </u>	4	i	51	i	112	<u> </u>
Maine	4		7	ł	6		33		50	ĺ
Mass	18		24		44		150	1	236	1
N.H	3		2		0		23	1	28	
R.I	0		2		0	Ì	16		18	
Vt	14		13		10		48		85	
North Central	7368	72.0	13719	70.0	5390	75.8	19882	67.2	46359	69.7
	21		18		37	! !	50	<u> </u>	126	
Ind.,	6453		11713		4353	1	16371	1	38890	
Iowa	16		24		8	ĺ	40		88	
Kansas	0		1		0		0		1	
Mich	3		4		6		29		42	
Minn	1		1		0		0		2	
Мо	5		14	i	5		19		43	
Ohio	862		1943		980		3371		7156	
Wis	7		1		1		2		11	
Southern	1243	12.2	1323	6.8	679	9,5	3757	12.7	7002	10.5
Ala	2		0		2		8		12	
Ark,	0		2		1		1		4	
Del	53		84		11		141		289	
D.C	4		2		5		16		27	
Fla	1		0		0		1		2	
Ga	4		2		2		13		21	
Ky	431		379		107		444		1361	
La	3		20		2		8		28	
Md	153		257		38		490		938	
Miss	0		0		3		1		4	
N.C	166		86		139		1522		1913	
S.C	74		68		66		62		270	
Tenn	42		63		45		166		316	
Texas	0		1		2		2		5	
Va	310		359		256		887		1812	
Unknown	45	.4	171	.9	8	.1	87	.3	311	.5
Foreign	720	7.0	3142	16.1	465	6.5	2537	8.6	6864	10.3
Brit. W. Indies	0		1		0		0		1	
Canada	5		22		0		18		45	
England	57		228		16		243		544	
Europe	0		0		0		1		1	
France	23		116		2		25		166	
Germany	251		2433		85		1296		4065	
Holland	2		4		0		0		6	
I reland	359		281		342		892		1874	
Italy	0		1		0		0		1	
Norway	1	'	0		0		0	l	1	
Poland	1		0		0		0		1	
Russia	0		4		0		0		4	
Scotland	19		21	ĺ	12		41		93	
Sweden	1		0		1		0		2	
Switzerland	0		25		6		17		48	
Wales	1		6		1		4		12	
Total	10231		19572		7116		29582		66501	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Original Returns of Eighth Census, 1860, Fayette, Franklin, Union and Wayne Counties, Indiana (microfilm in Indiana University Library, Bloomington, Indiana).

By 1860, it was guite evident that the migration from the Southern states had sharply declined. No longer were there enough new immigrants arriving to replace those who had either lived out their allotted span of years or moved on westward. Whereas, in 1850, Southerners accounted for sixteen and one-tenth per cent of the population, in 1860, this figure had dropped to ten and five-tenths per cent. Only 7,002 persons of Southern origin resided in the valley in 1860, yet this total was larger than that of any other section except the North Central states. It is interesting to note that in 1860 persons born in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia existed in the largest numbers in Wayne County. The greatest number of South Carolinians lived in Fayette County at this time. It would appear, therefore, that Wayne County had more power to attract people than any other county in the Whitewater Valley. It is likely that her rapid industrialization was in no small way responsible. Wayne County actually had more persons from Maryland in 1860 than in 1850. The states of the lower south did not contribute many persons to the Whitewater Valley.

The Middle Atlantic states have played a not inconsiderable part in the settlement of the valley. Many persons who had lived for some time in either New York, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania had migrated to this region, but these states have contributed in still another way. Through this middle region passed most of the people who had emigrated from Europe. An examination of the census returns reveals that many children of foreign parents were born in one or the other of these states, especially Pennsylvania, where Germans often stopped for a while before migrating further westward. New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which were in a direct eastward line with Indiana, contributed the largest number of people to the valley from this section.

In 1850, there were 6,180 persons of Middle Atlantic origin living in the four counties or ten and two-tenths per cent of the total population. Of this total, 4,105 were born in Pennsylvania, 1,185 in New Jersey, and 890 were natives of New York. Nearly one-half of this group, chiefly Pennsylvanians, had gone to Wayne County. Franklin County contained the greatest number from New York and New Jersey. The census of 1860 shows a total of 5,436 persons who were born in the Middle Atlantic states or a decrease of two per

cent since 1850. Pennsylvania still contributed the largest number, and Wayne County had again managed to attract the largest number of people of all three states.

People from New England did not migrate to the Whitewater Valley in force. This is borne out by the census figures, but a curious fact comes to light when these figures are examined closely. Although the Southern and Middle Atlantic states had experienced definite losses between 1850 and 1860, there were actually more New Englanders in the valley in 1860 than in 1850. In 1850, there were 474 persons of New England origin and 529 ten years later. Massachusetts contributed the largest number at both times. The 1850 census shows that a majority of the people from New England resided in Franklin County. It is interesting to note that in 1850 Wayne County had only 143 New Englanders, but in 1860, there were 321 or more than double the 1850 figure.

Since the Whitewater Valley was in one of the North Central states, it is quite obvious that this region would progressively contribute more inhabitants to the valley. By the year 1850, fifty-five per cent of the inhabitants were born in Indiana. The only other North Central state which contributed a significant percentage was Ohio. Persons born in the latter state comprised ten and eight-tenths per cent of the total population. Ohio's importance was due to the fact that she was just across the state boundary line to the east and that she lay along the main route of travel to Indiana. Some of the early Quaker settlers had lived in Ohio before coming to Indiana and many other people moved to Indiana after having resided in Ohio for a while. There were actually more former residents of Ohio in the valley in 1860 than in 1850. No other North Central state contributed much to the population of the valley because most of the states lay farther west and migration was proceeding in that direction. The year 1860 witnessed a further increase in the number and percentage of Hoosiers in the valley. In that year sixty-nine and seven-tenths per cent of the people were born in the North Central states and fifty-eight and five-tenths per cent in Indiana.

Although sectional migration to the Whitewater Valley had almost stopped, foreign migration during the 1850's definitely showed an upward trend. The majority of the immigrants were German and Irish, but other nations sent small quotas. The famine in Ireland in the latter part of the forties had started an unprecedented emigration. Since the evil conditions on board the "fever ships" had been eliminated by a British statute of 1849-1850 and American statutes of 1847 and 1848, passage across the ocean was now less rigorous for the Irish. These laws provided that more space should be allotted to each passenger, that a sufficient amount of food be placed on board, and that cooking places be provided for the passengers.<sup>3</sup>

Many Irishmen located in the valley to work on the canal when it was in the process of construction. Although it is difficult to tell how many Irish there were in the valley at that time, the census of 1850 reveals that 704 were living in the four counties of the Whitewater Valley in the latter year. This total, however, comprised only one and two-tenths per cent of the entire population. More than one-third of this number resided in Franklin County.

Ten years later the number of Irish had risen to 1,874 now two and eight-tenths per cent of the total population. Wayne County had more than one-half of the Irish and more than twice as many as any other county. This would seem to bear out the practice of the Irish of migrating to the cities.

The great German migration, which began in the thirties, was to continue in strength until the close of the period covered by this study. Numerous causes for previous migrations may be attributed to economic, political, and religiour factors, and these were still a vital force in causing the emigration of the fifties. During the years 1847-1848 and 1852-1855, there were potato crop failures in certain areas of Germany and a rise in the price of rye and other foodstuffs. In the period from 1850 to 1853, a vintage failure occurred in Württemberg. A political factor which gave the German a motive for migration was the revolution of 1848, which caused large numbers of Germans, including Carl Schurz, to flee from their native land. Two additional factors were involved, both of which made travel less difficult. The first was the use of steamships, which necessarily shortened the ocean voyage, and the second was the railroad, which now carried the German to his destination in the interior of the United States.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Edward E. Hale, Letters on Irish Emigration (Boston, 1852), 11-12, 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Frederick J. Turner "German Immigration into the United States," Chicago, Illinois, *Record Herald*, September 4, 1901.

German emigration is supposed to have reached its peak about 1854.<sup>5</sup>

Of the 2,474 Germans living in the valley in 1850, one thousand six hundred and seventy-two lived in Franklin County, chiefly in Ray, Highland, and Brookville townships. In this county, they comprised more than nine per cent of the population in 1850. Wayne County had attracted a large number but less than half as many as Franklin County. Union County, which had some Germans as early as 1826, had failed to lure a large number at this time. Ten years later, in 1860, there were 1.591 more Germans in the valley, bringing the total to 4,065 or six and one-tenth per cent of the total population. While Wayne County boasted an increase of more than six hundred Germans during this particular period, Franklin County showed a still larger increase and thus retained the leadership in the number of Germans. In the latter county, the Germans now accounted for twelve and fourtenths per cent of the total population. Since Franklin was predominantly an agricultural county, it would appear that the German was more likely to be drawn to the country than to the city.

The English did not migrate in large numbers to the Whitewater Valley. England had sent many of her sons to America in an earlier period, but during the time in which the valley was settled the English did not constitute an important direct factor in its settlement. The census of 1850 shows 336 Englishmen living in the valley, 189 of which were in Franklin County. The total in 1860 had reached 544, but at this time Wayne County contained the largest number of English, her English-born population having more than doubled.

The number of foreign-born of other nations was insignificant in both 1850 and 1860, in neither case forming more than five-tenths of one per cent of the entire population. In 1850, there were small numbers of people from Africa, the British West Indies, Canada, France, Holland, Italy, Scotland, Switzerland, and Wales. In 1860 most of these countries were still represented, and there were also a few from Norway, Poland, and Sweden. Most of the perviously named countries showed increases, but none of them provided a significant number of immigrants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Edith Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem (Chicago, 1926), 311.

By 1860, one of the four counties of the Whitewater Valley, Wayne, was the leading agricultural and industrial county of the state. It had 308 manufacturing establishments, employing 1,336 persons, and manufactured products valued at \$2,761,010, leading all other Indiana counties in each of these items. The other three counties were less highly industrialized. As the leading agricultural county, it contained farms valued at \$11,583,148 and farm implements valued at \$309,023. These figures were nearly twice as high as those of the other three counties.

The Indiana State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1862-1863 described Richmond as the leading commercial and manufacturing center in eastern Indiana, containing two railroads and having an estimated population of ten to twelve thousand. It is interesting to observe that Brookville, for which such high hopes had been held in earlier years was now described merely as a "post town, and the capital of Franklin county." Connersville, the county seat of Fayette County, now boasted a population of three thousand and specialized in milling, pork packing, and woolen manufacturing.

As a sidelight on the study of agriculture and industry in the valley, it is interesting to note what sectional and foreign groups owned the real estate. New Englanders, who comprised only eight-tenths of one per cent of the population in both 1850 and 1860, owned three and four-tenths per cent of the real estate in the former year and two and three-tenths per cent in the latter year. Natives of Massachusetts, who formed the largest New England group, owned the largest part of the property held by New Englanders. Persons born in the Middle Atlantic states comprised ten and two-tenths per cent of the population in 1850 and owned fourteen and two-tenths per cent of the property. Ten years later those from the Middle Atlantic region represented eight and two-tenths per cent of the total number of people and possessed twelve and eight-tenths per cent of the real estate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, III, Statistics of Manufactures, 142-143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, II, Statistics of Agriculture, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> George W. Hawes, Indiana State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1862 and 1863 (Indianapolis, Indiana, n.d.), 33, 235. Richmond had a population of 6,603 in 1860.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid., 54; Frederic L. Barrows (ed.), History of Fayette County, Indiana (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1917), 549.

An interesting situation presents itself when the Southern states are considered. Since most of the valley was originally settled by Southerners, it is logical to assume that a large portion of the real estate would be owned by them. This is borne out by the census figures. In 1850 people of Southern origin, comprising sixteen and one-tenth per cent of the population, owned real property valued at forty-three and ninetenths per cent of the total evaluation of the valley. In Wayne County, they owned more than fifty per cent of the real estate. Ten years later, ten and one-tenth per cent of the people were Southerners, and this group possessed thirty-four and four-tenths per cent of the real property. It is likely that some of the property which had formerly been listed as belonging to Southerners was now in the hands of their children who were born in Indiana. It might be imagined that North Carolinians would own the greater part of the property since they were the largest group from the South, but this is not the case. In both years Virginians owned a larger amount than any other Southern group, although people from North Carolina were a close second. Persons from Kentucky and Maryland owned sizeable quantities of real estate. It should be pointed out that even though Southerners owned a smaller percentage of the property in 1860, the total value of the property owned by them increased by more than four million dollars.

It would naturally be expected that the total amount of property owned by people born in Indiana would increase since real estate usually passed to the children when the parents died. The census figures show that Hoosiers were comparatively poor in real estate, probably because most of them were young and had not yet accumulated a great amount of property. The census of 1850 reveals that persons born in Indiana comprised fifty-five per cent of the population in 1850, yet owned only twelve and one-tenth per cent of the total real estate. By 1860, Hoosiers made up fifty-eight and five-tenths per cent of the total number of people, but they owned twenty-three and eight-tenths per cent of the property. Persons born in Ohio, who comprised ten and eight-tenths per cent of the population in both 1850 and 1860, owned nine and three-tenths and eleven and three-tenths, respectively, in these two census years.

Outside of the native Hoosiers, the foreigners were the poorest group. It must be remembered that many foreign immigrants were practically destitute when they arrived in this country. In 1850, they comprised six and two-tenths per cent of the poulation and owned seven and one-tenth per cent of the real estate. The Germans were the poorest of the three largest groups represented—the English, the Irish, and the Germans. The picture was reversed, however, in 1860 for the

Ownership of Real Estate of Sectional and National Groups<sup>10</sup>

j	1.	850	1860			
States	% of population	% of real estate	% of population	% of real estate		
Middle Atlantic	10.2	23.9	8.2			
N.J	2.0	6.8	1.5	4.7		
N.Y	1.4	2.9	1.2	2.3		
Penn	6.8	14.2	5.5	12.8		
New England	.8	3.4	.8	2.3		
Conn		<u>,                                      </u>				
Maine				l		
Mass		1.9		1.0		
N.H.		1.5		1.0		
R.I.						
				]		
Vt		<u> </u>				
North Central	66.1	21.4	69.7	35.1		
Ill						
Ind	55.0	12.1	58.5	23.8		
Iowa				1		
Mich						
Мо						
Ohio	10.8	9.3	10.8	11.3		
Wis		1		1		
Southern	16.1	43.9	10.5	34.4		
	10.1	40.9	10.0	34.4		
Ala			J			
Carolina				1		
Del		2.2		1.5		
D.C						
Ga		1		1		
Ky	2.6	7.3	2.0	6.2		
La						
Md	2.0	5.2	1.4	3.7		
N.C	4.5	11.5	2.9	8.4		
S.C		2.8		2.3		
Tenn		1.9		1.9		
Va	4.4	11.9	2.7	10.1		
Unknown	.6	.3	.5	.3		
Foreign	6.2	7.1	10.3	8.1		
Canada			L	<del></del>		
England		1.4		1.3		
France						
Germany	4.1	2.8	6.1	4.4		
Holland			· · · ·	1		
Ireland	1.2	2.0	2.8	1.8		
Italy	1.0	4.0	4.0	1.0		
Scotland						
Switzerland		1				
Wales						

Original Returns of Seventh Census, 1850, Fayette, Franklin, Union, and Wayne Counties, Indiana; Original Returns of Eighth Census, 1860, Fayette, Franklin, Union, and Wayne Counties, Indiana.

Irish then possessed less property per person than any of the three. By this time, the foreign element comprised ten and three-tenths per cent of the total population and owned only eight and one-tenth per cent of the total real estate. This is probably due to the great influx of immigrants during the fifties, many of whom had no property. The real estate owned by persons from these three countries was chiefly in Franklin and Wayne counties.

The Whitewater Valley was destined to witness an important event during this decade—the introduction of the railroad. The canal had not proved to be very practical, especially when it was known that it was easily damaged by floods. Elijah Coffin, speaking of a flood in 1853, said that the canal was damaged so badly that it was somewhat doubtful if it would ever be repaired again.<sup>11</sup> It was repaired, but by 1861 it was no longer considered useful. Finally in 1865, the Whitewater Valley Railroad was built along its towpath, which put it out of business.<sup>12</sup>

The desire for railroads within the valley was quite a natural one since railroad-building had been going on in the East for several years. The increased industrialization of the valley, together with the limited usefulness of the canal, provided ample justification for the introduction of the railroad. Many had preferred the building of railroads several years before, but this group lost out to those in favor of a canal. Now they were to have their turn. As early as 1846, the Richmond and Miami Railroad was incorporated, but it was not completed to Richmond until 1853, when on March 18, the first train arrived. 13 In the same year, the Terre Haute and Richmond (Indiana Central) was completed and during the next year the Newcastle and Richmond was built.14 The Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Indianapolis Railroad, begun in 1852, ran through Union and Fayette counties and was completed to Connersville in 1864.15 Franklin County had only a few miles of track during this period—the Chicago Division

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Mary C. Johnson (ed.), The Life of Elijah Coffin (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1863), 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Logan Esarey, "Internal Improvements in early Indiana," Indiana Historical Society *Publications* (Indianapolis Indiana, 1895-), V (1915), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Interstate Publishing Co., History of Wayne County, Indiana (2 vols., Chicago, 1884), I, 456; Richmond, Indiana, Palladium, 1831-1931, 100th Anniversary, January 1, 1931, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Interstate Publishing Co., History of Wayne County, Indiana, I, 456, 458.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> J. H. Beers and Co., Atlas of Union County, Indiana, (Chicago, 1884), 12; Barrows, History of Fayette County, Indiana, 280.

of the Big Four, which ran through the southwestern part of the county.<sup>16</sup>

In the field of religion it appears that the Methodists were the most successful denomination during the first half century, if the number of churches can be used as a criterion. This sect possessed sixty churches in 1860, with the largest number in Wayne County, where there was such a conflict between the Friends and Methodists thirty of forty years previously. The Baptists, who were the earliest sect in the valley, had nineteen churches and the Friends boasted fourteen, thirteen being in Wayne County alone. Lutherans and Christians each had eleven churches.<sup>17</sup>

One development which occurred at the close of this period demonstrates unrest in the ranks of the Quakers. In 1860, a group of young people met and formed a group known as the Young Friends, which opposed the older, conservative element. One of the leaders was Charles F. Coffin. That this group was destined to become important is seen from the following description of a meeting held October 7, 1860, and attended by one thousand persons.

The old Meeting House, crowded with people, and dim with lighted lamps, was a weird, strange sight. Never before was such a sight seen in a Friends' Meeting House. There was even a pathetic attempt to sing a hymn; but even this unheard of procedure failed to check the meeting. The conservative element was horrified, but the matter was in greater hands than theirs and though they were outraged they were helpless. 18

One week later the first regularly organized prayer meeting ever held among Indiana Friends was held at the house of Charles F. Coffin. These meetings continued thereafter every Sunday night for nearly seven years in Coffin's house. Since they were held in a private house, the Meeting could exercise no control over them. Nevertheless, they encountered formidable opposition from the conservative element. The Young Friends began proselyting and using revivalistic and evangelical methods. This naturally led into the field of social work—in which the Young Friends were to play a large part in the coming Civil War.

The most important change in education during this decade came about as a result of the new constitution of 1851

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> August J. Reifel, *History of Franklin County*, *Indiana*, (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1915), 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, IV, Vital Statistics, 381-388.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Mary C. Johnson and Percival B. Coffin (comps.), Charles F. Coffin, A Quaker Pioneer (Richmond, Indiana, 1923), 116-118, 126, 175.

and subsequent legislation. This constitution provided for a general and uniform system of common schools with free tuition. A common school fund was to be set up with income from the following sources: congressional township funds, surplus revenue funds, saline funds, bank tax funds, proceeds from the sale of county seminaries plus their properties, fines, forfeitures, lands escheated to the state, proceeds from the sale of lands granted to the state, and taxes on the property of corporations.<sup>19</sup>

A law, which was passed in 1852 requiring the levy of a state tax, abolished the congressional township system, erected civil townships, and empowered trustees to build schoolhouses and manage school affairs.<sup>20</sup> By 1857 nearly all of the townships in Wayne County had new schoolhouses, many of them brick.<sup>21</sup> The era of free schools meant a decline in the importance of academies and seminaries—in fact, it sounded their death knell. An experiment in higher education was made by the Methodists when they opened Brookville College in 1851, but it lasted only until 1873.<sup>22</sup> In 1859, the Friends' Boarding School at Richmond became Earlham College.<sup>23</sup>

Two new forces which influenced the press were at work during this period—the temperance movement and the rise of the Republican party. A wave of temperance reform which swept the country in the early fifties resulted in the establishment of several papers. There was one such paper in Fayette County, the Ladies Temperance Wreath, managed by Mrs. Lavinia Brownlee and Marie Louise Chitwood.<sup>24</sup> Another paper which espoused the temperance cause was the Liberty Herald, begun in 1852 in Union County. It also stood for Free Soil principles. This same paper was a Republican sheet in 1857.<sup>25</sup> New papers of Wayne County at this time were the Broad-Axe of Freedom and the Grubbing Hoe of Truth, the Indiana True Republican, the Cambridge City News, and the Cambridge City Bulletin, a Republican organ.<sup>26</sup> In Franklin

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Charles Kettleborough, Constitution Making in Indiana, Indiana Historical Collections (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1916- ), I, 346-348.

<sup>20</sup> Revised Statutes of the State of Indiana, 1852, I, 439-457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Interstate Publishing Co., History of Wayne County, Indiana, I, 487-488

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Reifel, History of Franklin County, Indiana, 381-384, 396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Fassett A. Cotton, Education in Indiana (Bluffton, Indiana, 1934), 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Barrows, History of Fayette County, Indiana, 467.

<sup>25</sup> J. H. Beers and Co., Atlas of Union County, Indiana, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Interstate Publishing Co., *History of Wayne County*, *Indiana*, I, 529, 535.

County the *Brookville American* was revived in 1858 and lasted until 1861.<sup>27</sup>

The population of the Whitewater Valley showed a net increase of 6,069 persons during the decade 1850-1860; it rose from 60,432 to 66,501. Two of the counties—Fayette and Union—showed almost no gain, but Wayne increased by more than 4,000 and Franklin by more than 1,500. Both of the latter counties had received large numbers of foreigners during this decade. It has been shown in previous articles that the Whitewater Valley was essentially a young man's country. At this time a comparison will be made between the ages of the free white inhabitants in 1820 and the ages of those living in the valley in 1860. The results will be a clear indication that the percentage of older persons was gradually rising. In 1820, forty-one per cent were under ten years of age, but in 1860, this figure was only twenty-nine per cent; in 1820, fifty-six per cent were sixteen and under, and in 1860, forty-one per cent were fifteen or under; in 1820, seventy-three per cent were twenty-six or under, in 1860, sixty-one per cent were thirty or under; in 1820, ninety-two per cent were under forty-five, in 1860, ninety per cent were fifty or under; in 1820, eight per cent were forty-five or over, and in 1860, ten per cent were fifty or over. The heyday of the young, hardy pioneer was over. In fact, he was himself now in his old age living in a society of older men.28

Sixty years had brought momentous changes to the Whitewater Valley. The territory was at first a relatively unexplored region inhabited by red men. At the close of this period, however, more than sixty-six thousand people lived in the valley. The first settlers had only crude mills for sawing lumber and grinding grain, but now the industrial revolution was in full swing. Every county had a railroad and towns everywhere dotted the landscape. Numerous religious denominations existed in the valley, several in great strength. The free common school had replaced the voluntary school, which was the first type to exist. Migration from other states was no longer an important factor, but now foreigners, especially Germans and Irish, had come in large numbers and were being assimilated by the native-born population. Above all, a native-born population, composed of the children of older settlers, now constituted more than half of the people of the valley.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Reifel, History of Franklin County, Indiana, 486.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, I, Statistics of Population, 106-113; Fourth Census of the United States, 1820, p.39\*.